

**ON THE RIGHT:**

## Fulbright Spouts Geyser of Pishposh

By WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

I HAVE PAID grateful tribute to Sen. Fulbright's courageous statement that we have no business as a nation picking quarrels with other nations for what they do within their own borders, and for his correct indictment of the fatuity of our present attitude towards Castro Cuba (we should either liberate Cuba, or regularize relations with it: quite so). The rest of the speech is, in Mencken's phrase, a geyser of pishposh, all the more infuriating because, in exhibiting an apparently invincible naivete, the Senator appeals to Americans to abandon their naivete.

He wasted no time introducing his majestic hallucinations: "In the signing of the test ban treaty," he began, "each side assured the other that it was prepared to forego, at least for the present, any bid for a decisive military or political breakthrough."

If that is what President Kennedy had in mind in signing the treaty, (a) the Senate never would have ratified it; and (b) the President should have been impeached.

We are dedicated to seeking out, under an effective military deterrent, a peaceful political breakthrough, which will remove us and the rest of the free world from the effective range of Communist imperialism. That is the aim of our foreign policy.

And then to assume that because the Soviet Union's strategists have concluded, that the moment had come when it was no longer useful to explode bigger bombs than the 60-megaton behemoth it had developed, the Soviet has abandoned the search for decisive military (let alone political weapons) in other areas—one wonders what Fulbright has in mind.

But the Senator is unembarrassed by his incandescent ignorance of Communist techniques and modalities: "The master myth of the Cold War," he says, "is that the Communist bloc is a monolith composed of governments which are not really governments at all but organized conspiracies, divided among themselves perhaps in certain matters of tactics, but all equally resolute and implacable in their determination to destroy the free world . . ."

There has never been any doubt that the satellite nations would take the first opportunity to free themselves from their Soviet overlords. This does not alter the fact that their resources still are at the disposal of central Soviet strategic planning.



BUCKLEY

The Senator also says: "The Soviet Union, though, still a most formidable adversary, has ceased to be totally and implacably hostile to the West. It has shown a new willingness to enter mutually advantageous arrangements with the West and thus far to honor them."

The Soviet Union has never been unwilling to enter into arrangements mutually advantageous: for 45 years it has concluded treaties and agreements.

The point to remember is that the Soviet Union observes those treaties and agreements only for so long as it is to her advantage to do so. The time span between last September, when the Treaty of Moscow was signed, and this March, when Sen. Fulbright heralds the sea-change, is hardly sufficient to warrant optimism, even as we meditate the Soviet Union's continuing violation of treaties it made, or had a hand in making, around the world, from the United Nations, to Laos, to Korea, to Berlin.

And what a revealing choice of a word: the Soviet Union has shown a willingness to "honor" a treaty! The Soviet Union does not "honor" treaties, it "observes" treaties, so long as it finds it useful to do so.

"We (Americans) are disposed," the Senator concluded, "to regard a conflict as a clash between good and evil rather than as simply a clash between conflicting interests."

The necessary distinction is missing. There are such things as conflict between good and evil. The conflict between the student freedom fighters in Budapest, and Khrushchev's tanks that mowed them down, was a conflict between good and evil. The international struggle is a projection of that contest.

One wonders, sadly, whether the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the U. S. Senate knows anything at all about the meaning of communism, or of the great struggle that roars in the ears of humankind.